2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
0U9 Tonga 0U9

669 266 727 was raising to his mouth, when he saw, by the smile on the countenance of the man, that it was human liver; overcome by disgust, he threw it in the man's face, who only laughed, and asked him if it were not better to eat good meat than die of hunger.

175 266 26 [177] [731] When Captain Cook visited these islands, cannibalism was scarcely thought of amongst them: but the Fiji people soon taught them this, as well as the art of war; and a famine, which happened some time afterwards, rendered the expedient for a time almost necessary. On this occasion they way-laid and murdered one another to supply themselves with food; and they still tell an anecdote of four brothers, who, in this time of scarcity, invited their aunt to come and partake of a large yam, which they said they had secretly procured: the poor woman, glad of the idea of getting something to eat, and pleased with the kindness of her nephews, went to their house, where they soon dispatched her, and she herself formed the materials of a repast. [525] Since that period, there was a great scarcity at one of the fortresses on the island of Tonga, called Nookoo Nookoo: two daughters of a chief of this place agreed to play at the game of lafo * against two

* This game will be described in the second volume of the work.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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young chiefs belonging to the same place, upon the following conditions: if the girls won the game, they were to divide a yam, which they had in their possession, and give half to the young chiefs; but if, on the contrary, these won the game, they were still to have half the yam, but were to go out and kill a man, and give half his body to the girls: the result was, that the latter won the game, and giving half their yam to the two chiefs, waited for the performance of their agreement. The two young men set out, under cover of the darkness of the night, and concealed themselves near an enemy's fortress. Early in the morning, a man came out of the fencing to fetch some salt water from the shore in cocoa-nut shells, which he carried with him for the purpose. When he approached the place where the two lay concealed, they started out upon him, killed him with their clubs, and, at the risk of their lives, brought his body to Nookoo Nookoo, where they divided it in half, and faithfully performed their promise with the young women.

It was more than a fortnight before the canoes returned from the Hapai islands with a supply of provisions, owing to the bad state of the weather. Shortly after, the garrison of Nookoo Nookoo sent to request leave to bury the dead bodies of their relations who had fallen

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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727 669 greatest respect, he said, for Finow's family; but he could not help it if some of his chiefs (as on the late occasion) made attacks upon Vavaoo, for want of other employment. One of the warriors who had been engaged in that unsuccessful expedition was now on board: he had been wounded on that occasion in the arm by a ball from Mr. Mariner's musket. About a 525 526 727 twelvemonth before, he laid a wager with Mr. Mariner that he could not hit a mark which he put on a cocoa-nut tree at a certain distance with his musket: the bet was a pig. Mr. Mariner accepted the wager, and the king promised to pay the pig if he lost: it happened, however, that he missed, and the king lost his pig. The 727 669 warrior, as soon as he saw Mr. Mariner on board, came up to him, and said, smiling, "I find you "can shoot better than you did at the cocoa-nut "tree." Mr. Mariner inquired after his wound, and was happy to find that it had got nearly [152] well. The ball had passed through the fleshy part of the arm; his Hapai *surgeon*, however, had laid the wound considerably open, and managed it very well.

727 It was very ludicrous to hear the different strange excuses and apologies made by the natives, in regard to the affair of the Port au Prince, with a view to persuade the captain that *they* had nothing to do with it. Many said that they

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

581. Nai huni: Sparing oil-rag. A *lafo* term. 539 524 183

The *huni* is a small piece of cloth on to which oil was poured to rub on the pieces to make them run smoothly. A man may use the oil very sparingly for fear of making his piece too greasy, thus causing them to travel too easily and too far. This expression is applied to one who, afraid of over-doing the oil, has overdone his caution with the upshot that his piece has come short. Used of one who is cautious and sparing in the use of his material and has thereby failed in that at which he aimed.

582. Olo faka-lafo-koa: Deceit, device, after the manner of *lafo-koa;* allurement by strategem (Baker). 539 524 525

Lafo-koa is a game of *lafo* played for stakes. The players make remarks to each other to put their opponents off their game, though it is against the rules to do this to a man as he is actually about to throw. This "barracking" is common to all games of *lafo* but probably there would be more all round keenness where stakes were involved. As applied generally the idea of the expression seems to be that just as one may think of something clever to say to hamper an opponent's play, or perhaps think of some clever device to bring off a successful throw, so may he invent some ingenious method of accomplishing his purpose whatever it may be.

583. Oua te ke mata-fala ua: Don't be at two ends of the mat. 539 524

A *lafo* expression. In a game with two on each side the pair of opponents sitting together at each end of the mat adjust differences, discuss and decide which is the scoring piece. When the game is played by groups of five, one of each of these fives, namely the one called the *toekai* who throws last, performs the offices of umpire in consultation with the *toekai* of the opposing side who sits next to him. The *toekai* sit facing each other at the ends of the mat while the rest of the teams sit around the corner at the side. This phrase is a rebuke to a man who wishes to interfere in the consultations and decisions of the players at the opposite end of the mat. Generally, to mind one's own business. [183]

584. To to motua paanga: Falling, falling large piece.

The reference is to the large piece, in the game of *lafo*, falling upon and sweeping from the mat the smaller pieces. One large piece may sweep from the mat several of the smaller pieces. One who is strong brushing aside all the opposition of even a number of puny adversaries. [578]

585. Va kaunahu: Edge of *nahu* space.

The edge of the mat in *lafo* used to be raised by bolstering up with a bed of *nahu*, a sort of fern. The *kaunahu, nahu* edge, therefore, is the raised cushion along the side of the mat which skillful players are able to use with great effect. The space, interval, road, of the *nahu* edge is a difficult shot which a good player can bring off by using the raised sides of the mat. Used generally of that which is difficult but not impossible.

586. Va puna: Jumping distance.

A *lafo* expression indicating that the pieces of two opponents are close together but not touching, so that one player is able to throw a second

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

often divert themselves, viz. shooting rats, I became, after a time, almost as dextrous as the natives. To provide for this sport, they take out the kernel of the cocoa-nut, which being burned and chewed, the servants are sent to strew it in places near the road, in fences, and in hollow trees. Meanwhile the chiefs, with bows and arrows, take their station near, and making a squeaking noise exactly like the rats, these animals soon come out to feed upon the nuts, when the chiefs, ranged in order each for his turn, shoot at them for a wager; he that kills the most, in the same number of shots, wins the game.

They are a very active people, yet they often spend whole days, when they have no particular employment, in luxurious indolence. These days they generally close in dancing and singing; of which they are peculiarly fond.

The chief will send round the district, and collect together thirty, forty, or fifty young people of both sexes, to dance with his attendants by the light of tomais, or torches, formed, as we before showed, from the unctuous bark of the cocoa-tree.

These dances are very beautiful. Young women of the most graceful figure and comely features assemble on these occasions, their dark ringlets bespangled with aromatic flowers of a peculiar whiteness, their necks and shoulders encircled with wreaths of variegated flowers, tastefully strung to-

74: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1978
(ca. 1800-1850)
OU9 Tonga OU9

127 this is one limitation that must be considered: how much did the missionaries actually see and how much was heresay from other Europeans? The only way this can be checked is by constant reading of the accounts and seeing whether or not the missionaries actually acknowledged the help of Europeans. In this instance, the Wesleyan missionaries made such an acknowledgement but in other accounts they may not have and the researcher must take this limitation into consideration.

127 797 Because of the Wesleyan's religious bias, they frowned upon amusements, sports, dancing and games. Their accounts are sparse on these aspects of aboriginal Tongan life and this is one limitation for which there is no solution: if the observer did not like what he saw and did not record it, it simply is not there. The following statement by Watkin is an isolated description of aboriginal tatooing practices:

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> On my return this evening I found the artist whose work it was to perform the operation of tatooing the persons of the Islands during the reign of idolatry. They then thought that it imparted a higher degree of personal beauty to such as underwent the painful operation, and there are some who wish to imitate their predecessors such is force of custom, although the idea that it is wrong pretty generally prevails (Watkin, Journal, April 1834).

127 797 The following description by Dyson, of the aboriginal game termed <u>lafo</u> is another isolated statement in the manuscript:

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> An amusement called the "lafo" has just reappeared in this town. The manner in which it is performed is as follows. Four natives usually engage in it at once. Each has a pc. of a nut shell wh. he pitches across a mat & the two who lost have to give the other two a basket of food. The Leaders at our Mtg. called my attention to it today. I went immediately to the Governor & he said it was unlawful & would punish the persons who did it.

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it is the native way of gambling. They have 10 small parts of nut shells--in two fives. Each shell of the 5 is larger than the upper one--downwards. The smallest is called Tukumua, the 2nd Hiliga-hikumua, the 3rd Lautaki, the 4th Toekeuloto the 5th Toekai. The mat is about 6 x 3 ft & during the game is raised round the edges. When the shells are pitched beyond the edge the game is lost, if they cross without falling over that is counted for the winner. It is attended with much evil & the only object is to gain food or property by hazard (Dyson, Journal, July 6, 1868).

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Although the Wesleyans had a distaste for amusements (Vide Latukefu 1967: 129-130), in this instance Dyson recorded the game in depth.

The Wesleyans also interacted with the Tongan body politic (Latukefu 1967: 537-538; Hammer 1952: 170-171), and a basic limitation of the research was the Wesleyan attitude to certain Tongan social and
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cultural behavior concerning the political structure. The researcher must ask the question of the manuscript: how would the Wesleyans describe aboriginal political structure in light of the overt Wesleyan influence on that political structure? Did the Wesleyans really understand the inextricable interconnections of Tongan religion, politics and kinship? The researcher is familiar with this connection from previous historical and ethnographic accounts, but did the Wesleyans comprehend it?

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The Wesleyans set out to replace the aboriginal religious structure with Western beliefs. One of the major proponents of the aboriginal religious and political structure was the individual known as the Tu'i Tonga (Chief or ruler of all of Tonga). The Wesleyan descriptions of this individual must be carefully assessed, since the Tu'i Tonga was attempting to uphold the old faith while the Wesleyans were trying to

/269 cont./

000of Tongan culture.

524 The changes which occurred in this field in recent times as a
526 result of European influences, however, comes close to a collapse. All
177 the aforementioned games of adults, with the exception of lafo and hiko,
178 have today been forgotten. Although lafo is familiar to some Tongans and is occasionally played, now also by commoners, it is rather insignificant compared to other games customary today. Hiko is apparently a children's game more than it was in the past (see below).

European games have generally replaced the ancient Tongan ones.
[525] Playing cards are seen today in most settlements, and various kinds of card games (sometimes also played for money, despite prohibition) have
526 become known in Archipelago. /270/ But sports have become more wide-
177 spread. Cricket is today rather popular and, to judge by the cement courts seen in many villages and now partly disintegrated, it was played far more a few decades ago than it is today. The natives like to
[824] use bats cut from breadfruit wood and balls made of nonu wood (also, instead of these, moli Tonga = tough oranges). The enthusiasm for tennis varies in individual villages. Young Tongans especially like to play it. They play with home-made wooden rackets that in shape are copied from European rackets (or else with regular rackets) and with European rubber balls or genuine tennis balls which they buy in shops; usually an old rectangular fishnet serves as net. Such tennis games are arranged at any time of the day (except on Sundays) on grassy areas in the villages. They usually do not bother to have a precisely marked-off court, but they try to play "singles" and "doubles" with scores if they know the rules. While tennis in many villages (even on the small islands) is the typical summer game, they devote themselves to football (rugby), which involves more movement, during the cooler time of year. The players are 30 to 40 years old, and they fight with more or less skill for the ball (bought at the shopkeeper's) and the goals. In some